

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 146010  
ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY AF:LWALKER:JR  
APPROVED BY P:DNEWSOM  
S/S -O:RCASTRODALE  
AF:RMMOOSE

-----124525 082335Z /41

O 082314Z JUN 78 ZFF4  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY KINSHASA NIACT IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 146010

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MOPS, PINR, CG

SUBJECT: FIVE POWER MESSAGE ON REFORM

REFS: STATE 145355

1. AS YOU DRAFT A JOINT MESSAGE ON REFORM FOR  
PRESENTATION TO MOBUTU, YOU SHOULD KEEP IN MIND  
THE FOLLOWING:

A) THE IMPORTANT THING IS THAT MOBUTU GET THE  
MESSAGE THAT THE FIVE POWERS IN PARIS WERE UNANIMOUS  
IN THE CONCLUSION THAT FUNDAMENTAL REFORMS ARE REQUIRED  
IF ASSISTANCE IS TO BE FORTHCOMING AND EFFECTIVE.

B) IN THIS CONNECTION, THE LEAD IN THIS IS IMPORTANT.  
THE FOLLOWING KIND OF DOUBLE-BARRELLED PREAMBLE IS WHAT  
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WE HAVE IN MIND: QUOTE: YOU SHOULD KNOW THAT -  
WESTERN POWERS AT THE PARIS MEETING AGREED THAT T,-  
QUESTIONS OF STABILITY AND ECONOMIC RECOVERY IN ZAIRE  
WERE URGENT IN NATURE AND CRITICAL TO PEACE AND  
STABILITY IN CENTRAL AFRICA. IN THIS CONNECTION, THEY  
REVIEWED WITH GREAT SYMPATHY ZAIRE'S ECONOMIC AND

SECURITY REQUIREMENTS AND YOU HAVE EVERY RIGHT TO BE PLEASED WITH THE WILLINGNESS OF ZAIRE'S FRIENDS TO DO WHAT THEY CAN IN THIS REGARD.

BUT YOU SHOULD ALSO KNOW THAT THERE WAS UNANIMOUS AGREEMENT THAT THE TIME FOR FUNDAMENTAL REFORM IN ZAIRE HAS COME. FOR CONTINUED ASSISTANCE TO BE FORTHCOMING AND EFFECTIVE, ZAIRE'S FRIENDS MUST SEE CONCRETE EVIDENCE OF REFORM. CERTAINLY, THE ZAIRIAN DELEGATION TO THE BRUSSELS MEETING MUST COME WITH A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF THE CONNECTION BETWEEN ASSISTANCE AND REFORM UNQUOTE

2. IN OUR VIEW, THE ECONOMIC REFORMS ARE WHERE WE SPECIFICALLY TIE OUR ASSISTANCE AND IN THIS CONNECTION WE WOULD BEGIN BY REFERRING TO ALREADY AGREED REFORMS -- IMF AND MOBUTU PLAN RE FOREIGN TECHNICIANS AND DEVELOPMENT PRIORITIES. BUT WE WOULD LIKE TO GO BEYOND THESE TO URGENT, INTERNAL REFORMS WHICH COULD BE PUT IN PLACE BEFORE A FUND STABILIZATION PROGRAM IS SIGNED:

A) ESTABLISHMENT OF A MONTHLY FOREIGN EXCHANGE BUDGET WHICH LEAVES ROOM FOR ESSENTIAL IMPORTS ONLY.  
A BI-MONTHLY REPORT ON THE OPERATIONS OF THIS

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BUDGET COULD BE SUBMITTED TO THE IMF, WITH INSTRUCTIONS THAT IT MAY BE SHARED WITH DONOR/CREDITOR GOVERNMENTS.

B) MEASURES TO INSURE REPATRIATION OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE EARNINGS -- INCLUDING THOSE LIKE COFFEE RECEIPTS WHICH IN THE PAST HAVE REMAINED ILLEGALLY ABROAD. AGAIN, A REPORT TO THE IMF WHICH CAN BE SHARED WITH DONOR/CREDITOR GOVERNMENTS.

3. THE POLITICAL GESTURES AIMING TOWARD A REINTEGRATION OF SHABA INTO ZAIRE'S BODY POLITIC, GENERAL POLICY OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND DE-CENTRALIZATION, WHILE NOT LINKED DIRECTLY TO ASSISTANCE, ARE NONETHLESS IMPORTANT IN OUR JUDGMENT IF STABILITY IS TO RETURN TO ZAIRE. THE MESSAGE SHOULD RAISE THESE POINTS, BUT NOT NECESSARILY PRECONDITION NEAR TERM ASSISTANCE UPON THEM.

4. YOU WILL ALSO NOTE THAT THE ISSUES OF CORRUPTION, POLITICAL PRISONERS, EXECUTIONS AND CONTROL OF FAZ PILLAGING DROPPED OUT AT THE PARIS DRAFTING SESSION. THESE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES SHOULD BE RAISED IN ANY

JOINT DEMARCHE.

5. LASTLY AND FOR YOUR INFORMATION, THERE FOLLOWS  
AN UNCLEARED DRAFT OF A LETTER WE WERE WORKING ON.  
YOU WILL KNOW BEST IF SOMETHING LIKE IT CAN BE  
NEGOTIATED WITH YOUR COLLEAGUES.

THIS IS, YOU UNDERSTAND, BEING SENT TO SOLICIT  
YOUR REACTIONS. NEITHER THE TEXT NOR THE CO CEPT  
OF THE LETTER HAVE YET RECEIVED NECESSARY APPROVAL.

QUOTE

BETWEEN OLD FRIENDS WE CAN SPEAK FRANKLY AND ADDRESS WHAT  
HAS COME TO BE CALLED THE NEED FOR REFORMS IN ZAIRE.

YOUR OWN COURAGEOUS PUBLIC  
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DECLARATIONS ON THIS SUBJECT HAVE COME TO FORM THE  
FRAMEWORK OF NEEDED REFORMS IN THE POLITICAL AS WELL  
AS THE ECONOMIC FIELDS. BOTH YOU AND YOUR FOREIGN  
FRIENDS ARE IN AGREEMENT THAT THESE REFORMS ARE URGENT  
IF FURTHER ASSISTANCE IS TO BE EFFECTIVE IN DEALING  
WITH ZAIRE'S STABILITY AND ECONOMIC RECOVERY.

LET US SUMMARIZE OUR UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT WE HAVE  
AGREED THUS FAR. ON THE ECONOMIC FRONT, A NEW  
STABILIZATION AGREEMENT WITH THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY  
FUND MUST BE SIGNED JUST AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND  
IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT CONTINUED BILATERAL ASSISTANCE  
WILL BE RELATED TO PERFORMANCE UNDER THE TERMS OF THE  
AGREEMENT. WE HAVE ALSO AGREED ON THE REFORMS YOU  
SET FORTH IN THE "MOBUTU PLAN", NOTABLY RELATING  
TO THE PLACEMENT OF FOREIGNERS IN KEY POSITIONS AT  
THE CENTRAL BANK, THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE AND CUSTOMS,  
AS WELL AS A CLEAR SHIFT IN DEVELOPMENT PRIORITIES  
TOWARD AGRICULTURE.

LET US ASSURE YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, THAT WE AGREE ON THE  
NEED OF THE REFORMS THAT YOU HAVE PROPOSED  
BRUSSELS JUNE 13-14. AS WE REVIEW THE ELEMENTS OF  
THE ECONOMIC REFORM PACKAGE, WE ARE STRUCK BY THE  
COMMON CONCERN, NOT ONLY IN THE IMF LED STABILIZATION  
EFFORT, BUT ALSO IN THE MOBUTU PLAN, OVER CONTROL  
AND REPATRIATION OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE.

AS YOU KNOW, BOTH THE STABILIZATION PLAN AND THE  
RECOVERY PLAN CANNOT BE PUT IN PLACE OVERNIGHT, YET  
THE URGENCY OF ECONOMIC REFORM IS SUCH THAT SOMETHING  
MUST BE DONE QUICKLY TO GIVE THE SIGNAL THAT THE  
PROCESS IS BEING IMPLEMENTED. THIS IS PARTICULARLY

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IMPORTANT SINCE WE WILL WANT TO SEE EVIDENCE OF REFORM BEFORE WE CAN ENVISAGE FURTHER ASSISTANCE. IN THIS REGARD, YOU MIGHT WISH TO CONSIDER PUTTING INTO PLACE AN INTERIM SYSTEM FOR ASSURING THAT FOREIGN EXCHANGE RECEIPTS ARE REPATRIATED AND THAT THE EXPENDITURES OF SUCH RECEIPTS ARE RESTRICTED TO ZAIRE'S ESSENTIAL IMPORT REQUIREMENTS. YOU MAY HAVE OTHER IDEAS WHICH WOULD GET ACROSS THE KEY MESSAGE THAT ZAIRE'S OWN RESOURCES ARE BEING USED TO ADDRESS ESSENTIAL NEEDS.

BEYOND THE ECONOMIC REFORMS YOU HAVE LAID OUT, WE SEE PARTICULAR SIGNIFICANCE IN THE POLITICAL REFORMS YOU ANNOUNCED IN YOUR JULY 1 SPEECH. AS WE UNDERSTAND IT, YOU ENVISAGED THE USE OF THE OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER MORE FULLY TO HANDLE THE DAY-TO-DAY BUSINESS OF THE GOVERNMENT AND THE REVITALIZATION OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY. WE COULD NOT AGREE MORE WITH YOUR IDEAS IN THIS REGARD AND CONSIDER THIS CONCEPT OF DE-CENTRALIZATION CRITICAL NOT ONLY TO THE FUNCTIONING OF YOUR CONSTITUTIONAL INSTITUTIONS BUT ALSO PERHAPS VITAL TO THE EFFORT OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION WHICH WE KNOW YOU ARE UNDERTAKING.

WHEN THE WESTERN FIVE MET IN PARIS WE REVIEWED THE SHORT TERM REQUIREMENTS OF SECURITY IN SHABA AND, AS YOU KNOW, DISCUSSED THE NEEDS OF THE AFRICAN FORCE WHICH IS BEING PUT IN PLACE THERE. BUT WE ALL AGREED THAT THE AFRICAN FORCE IS ONLY A TEMPORARY SOLUTION AND THAT THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF STABILITY IN THAT REGION HAD TO BE ADDRESSED:

-- THE REINTEGRATION OF SHABA INTO THE BODY POLITIC OF ZAIRE

-- A SOLUTION TO THE DISPUTE BETWEEN ZAIRE AND ANGOLA, WHICH WOULD LEAD AT A MINIMUM TO THE  
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NEUTRALIZATION OF THE KATANGAN GENDARMES OPERATING FROM ANGOLAN TERRITORY.

AGAIN, WE KNOW THAT YOU HAVE IDEAS ON HOW THESE CRITICAL PROBLEMS CAN BE APPROACHED AND WE WOULD GREATLY APPRECIATE HEARING FROM YOU IN THIS REGARD. IN PARIS, OUR ANALYSIS POINTED TO SOME POSSIBLE

SPECIFIC ACTIONS, WHICH WILL BE SHARED WITH YOU LATER,  
BUT WE ALL AGREED THAT ONLY YOU COULD UNDERTAKE  
THE DRAMATIC GESTURES AND DETAILED DIPLOMACY THAT  
WILL BE NECESSARY.

LASTLY, MR. PRESIDENT, WE MUST RAISE THE MOST  
DELICATE OF ISSUES. AS YOU KNOW, THE FURTHERANCE  
OF HUMAN RIGHTS HAS BECOME AN ISSUE OF CONCERN.  
THERE IS NO INTENTION ON OUR PART OF IMPOSING OUR  
VIEW ON OTHERS, BUT IT IS CLEAR THAT A PATTERN OF  
HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN A GIVEN COUNTRY INEVITABLY  
HAS ITS REPERCUSSIONS ON THE OVERALL RELATIONSHIP  
IN GENERAL AND ON ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS IN PARTICULAR.

WE REALIZE FULL WELL THE ENORMOUS CHALLENGE  
THAT BRINGING UNITY TO THE GREAT NATION OF ZAIRE  
PRESENTS AND WE KNOW THAT WESTERN NORMS CANNOT BE  
TRANSPLANTED. AT THE SAME TIME, YOU MUST KNOW THAT  
WE WILL NOT BE IN A POSITION TO CONTINUE SIGNIFICANT  
ASSISTANCE IF THE MOST CORRUPT ELEMENTS CONTINUE TO  
BE ASSOCIATED IN THE PUBLIC MIND WITH YOUR GOVERNMENT.  
NOR WILL WE BE ABLE TO CONTINUE TO SUPPORT YOU IF  
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AS WE SAID AT THE BEGINNING, BETWEEN OLD FRIENDS,  
WE CAN BE FRANK. WE ALSO WANT TO EMPHASIZE THAT  
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PAGE 01 STATE 146010  
ORIGIN SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /016 R

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DRAFTED BY:IO/UNA:BJSHARP  
APPROVED BY:IO/UNA:JFTEFFET  
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O 091640Z JUN 78  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 0000

S E C R E T STATE 146010

EXDIS FOR AMB YOUNG FROM UNA

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 146010 ACTION KINSHASA JUN 8

QUOTE S E C R E T STATE 146010

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MOPS, PINR, CG

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WE REALIZE FULL WELL THE ENORMOUS CHALLENGE THAT BRINGING UNITY TO THE GREAT NATION OF ZAIRE PRESENTS AND WE KNOW THAT WESTERN NORMS CANNOT BE TRANSPLANTED. AT THE SAME TIME, YOU MUST KNOW THAT WE WILL NOT BE IN A POSITION TO CONTINUE SIGNIFICANT ASSISTANCE IF THE MOST CORRUPT ELEMENTS CONTINUE TO

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## Message Attributes

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**Draft Date:** 08 jun 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
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**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
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**Original Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
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**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
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**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
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**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** FIVE POWER MESSAGE ON REFORM  
**TAGS:** MOPS, PINR, ECON, PGOV, CG, (MOBUTU SESE SEKO)  
**To:** KINSHASA  
**Type:** TE  
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**Review Markings:**  
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20 Mar 2014  
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